ADAM GUROWSKI AND THE CIVIL WAR: A RADICAL'S RECORD

BY

LEROY HENRY FISCHER

A.B., University of Illinois, 1939

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AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, 1943

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L.H.F.

ADAM GUROWSKI AND THE CIVIL WAR: A RADICAL'S RECORD

A national crisis develops figures of lasting historical importance. On other individuals it showers honors which are soon forgotten. The Civil War did neither for Gurowski. The year 1861 found him an unimportant, eccentric figure; 1865 found him still unimportant and eccentric. If the war did anything for Gurowski, it made his unique radical character and nature all the more colorful, and produced for him a few intimate friends at the expense of scores of passionate enemies.

Before Gurowski came to America in 1849 his life had been that of storm and stress amid the political intrigues of Europe. With this political experience as background he witnessed a democracy struggle for its existence when torn by civil war. His experience, coupled with a deep devotion to liberty, a keen mind trained in the philosophies of great scholars, a lashing tongue and radical temperament, prompted him to "enlighten" the North through a published diary and in counsel to politicians and governmental administrators. Through his advice Gurowski hoped to lead the people of his adopted country to a speedy victory and to a restored Union without slavery. He tersely stated his role: "As a watchdog faithful to the people's cause, I try to stir up the shepherds—but alas! alas . . . ."[1] At Washington he became a character known to practically everyone in the capital; by virtue of his noble lineage, thorough education, and conviction of personal intellectual equality with the most intelligent of men, and despite his poverty, he was accepted as equal, if not superior, by all who knew him.

The Count was a man of medium height. His head was round, his hair gray, his forehead gigantic. He wore side whiskers by choice and a prominent paunch by nature. Place this body in strange attire, endow it with the air of an aristocrat, a semi-military stride, and an expression alter-

1. Gurowski, *Diary, from November 18, 1862, to October 18, 1863* (New York, 1864), 234, entry of May 21, 1863.

nately jovial and scowling—and there is Gurowski. His eccentric appearance was enhanced by colored glasses (worn to protect an injured eye), a long flowing coat, and a broad brimmed hat with a long sky-blue veil attached. Always ready to accept new ideas and concepts that appeared sound to his mind, his convictions frequently underwent alterations; when there was danger of violating inward harmony of conscience he never hesitated to secede from an idea or change a route. His convictions dictated his course, often bringing discredit by contemporaries, with loss of position and personal happiness.

Gurowski, who came of a noble Polish line "as old and high as that of any one in Europe,"[2] was noted for radical patriotic tendencies while a schoolboy; the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia expelled him from the gymnasia of Warsaw and Kalisz for singing patriotic songs and wearing a prohibited national Polish costume. At the University of Berlin and the University of Heidelberg he studied under such famous scholars as Friedrich Hegel, Anton Friedrich Thibaut, and Georg Friedrich Creuzer; later in Paris he sat under Charles Fourier.

Returning to Poland in 1825, he was imprisoned several times because of opposition to Russian influence. When, in November, 1830, political fermentation finally broke into open revolt, he became a leader in the movement he had nursed relentlessly. In Poland, however, he was considered a popular agitator, too radical even for the revolutionary patriots. His fellow conspirators sent him to Paris in 1831 as agent of a radical club of Warsaw in order to place him in a position where he could be of little influence on the conduct of the revolution in Poland. When the revolutionary movement collapsed he was sentenced to death and his estates confiscated. In Paris, however, Gurowski continued with unabated enthusiasm his radical activities for revolutionary Poland; then unexpectedly on September 28, 1834, he published a declaration announcing that he was no longer a Pole and requesting Nich-

2. MS. autobiographical sketch, author's possession. Gurowski lived from September 10, 1805, to May 4, 1866.

olas I of Russia to extend a pardon and permit him to live in Russia.

His turn-about created a sensation and won for him the lifelong scorn of his countrymen.[3] He openly declared that Poland as a nation was dead; he had adopted the new pan-Slav doctrine proposing that Russia should lead the Slav peoples. Through the Paris press he attacked Poland and Polish society and glorified Russia in order to win Nicholas's favor. When less than a year after his initial denunciation of Poland, he published *La Vérité sur la Russie,* advocating pan-Slavism, the book attracted the desired attention; a pardon was extended, together with an invitation to live in Russia. Now in the service of Nicholas as a pan-Slav propaganda adviser, he introduced and developed meeasures to Russianize Poland. The Czarist system after observation failed to satisfy his aspirations, and again disillusioned, he fled to Prussia (1844), wandering for several years over Europe, and later accepted a professorship of political economy at the University of Bern, Switzerland. Believing that justice could not be expected in Europe, he emigrated to America, where, upon naturalization, he hoped to complete his "apprenticeship to freedom."

Soon after his arrival in New York late in 1849 he presented an unsuccessful series of informal lectures at Harvard University on the history of Roman law, challenged a professor to a duel, poured forth denunciations of Daniel Webster, and wrote articles on European life for the *Boston Museum.* In New York he was employed on the editorial staff of Greeley's *Tribune,* and concurrently wrote articles for the *New American Cyclopaedia.* He vigorously supported the Russian cause during the Crimean War; two pamphlets, *The Turkish Question* (1854) and *A Year of the War* (1855), coupled with his pro-Russian editorials in the *Tribune,* did much to cast opinion favorable to Russia.

From the outbreak of the Civil War, the Republican party

3. Polish immigrants to the United States avoided Gurowski so completely that there remains no bit of evidence that he had even the slightest contact with these groups.

split into two clashing factions, radicals and conservatives, on the purposes of the struggle. Lincoln and his administration were the moderates, whose purpose was to make the restoration of the Union the one objective, without insisting upon the destruction of slavery. In opposition to the mild policies of the President stood the Radicals, dubbed by John Hay the "Jacobins," who would have no peace until the war had destroyed not only slavery, but essential rights in the South. They demanded a pitiless revolutionary war or no war at all. In general, they desired to prolong the war until they had sufficient party support to force their program. They waged an ever-winning battle against Lincoln and his program, which critics referred to as carrying on the war for the maintenance of the conditions that had generated the war. The Radicals forced Lincoln to adopt emancipation as a war aim. They forced the use of negro soldiers and the confiscation of rebel property. They drove conservatives from the cabinet and replaced generals of Democratic sentiments with military men of their own faction. They defeated Lincoln's plan of reconstruction by refusing congressional recognition of his restored state governments and by burdening the South with conditions that exist today. It was this Radical course that Gurowski approved with conspicuous fidelity.

As large-scale compromise efforts between North and South climaxed in the Peace Convention which assembled at Willard's Hotel in Washington in early February, 1861, Gurowski was active with his Radical accomplices in killing the purpose of the body. He appeared before an informal group of its Northern members, told them they were bungling the situation, related plots to seize the government, and suggested a course of action. Compromise plans, he said, were but schemes to keep the North from preparing for war while the South was arming and preparing to strike for independence. "Here," said Gurowski, "you are permitting yourselves to be used as the instruments of a treasonable conspiracy, when you ought to be at home, organizing and drilling your regiments, preparing to defend the only government

worth living under left upon the face of the earth."[4]

After Lincoln's inaugural the Count became particularly vehement in his outbursts over the inactivity and uncertainty that prevailed in Washington administrative circles. On order of Winfield Scott, general-in-chief of the army, and William H. Seward, secretary of state, both conservatives of the administration hue, Gurowski was ordered to desist from "playing the demagogue" about Washington by proposing violent action against the Confederacy and agitating the local population. Despite this reprimand, he was one of the first to join Cassius M. Clay's battalion organized as an emergency military force to defend the capital city when the electrifying news of the fall of Sumter awakened Washington from the inertia of early '61. The Count longed for action which never came, and when the battalion was honorably discharged after regulars reached Washington, each of its members receiving a certificate handsomely written and signed by Lincoln and Secretary of War Simon Cameron, Gurowski arrogantly refused to accept his, complaining that he had had no occasion to fight.

In wartime Washington, Gurowski's favorite method in promoting his designs was to warn and advise governmental leaders, civil and military, with endless suggestions and criticisms. When he set his mind to make contact with an official, he usually succeeded; when he failed to accomplish the purpose through interviews or through a friend, he resorted to the mails. The Count's influence on the nation's leaders can only be conjectured. Some completely ignored his advice and criticisms; others smiled, reflected but a moment, then dismissed his opinions as those of a highly eccentric and unreasonable personality; still others—of Radical bent—hailed his words as those of a sage. To all, with perhaps one exception, he was a harmless grumbling growler.

Lincoln, in Gurowski's opinion, was honest, hesitant, blundering, and intellectually slow, a president who acted only upon irresistible public demand. He hoped Lincoln would rise

4. Quoted in L. E. Chittenden, *Recollections of President Lincoln and His Administration,* (New York and London, c1891), 30.

to the requirements of a war executive, but he searched in vain for this satisfaction. When the Jacobins barked ferociously after the Union disaster at Fredericksburg, he exclaimed: "You can not change Lincoln's head, you cannot fill his small but empty skull with brains . . . ."[5] The truth, Gurowski believed, was that Lincoln had become "the unavoidable constitutional formula," evidencing his existence only by preserving slavery, retaining and supporting General George B. McClellan, heeding the dictates of Secretary Seward, distributing the spoils of office, and "digging the country's grave." "Lincoln acts," Gurowski observed, "when the popular wave is so high that he can stand it no more, or when the gases of public exasperation rise powerfully and strike his nose . . . ."[6] Pledging himself to fight to the last against Lincoln and "all the shams," the Count attributed the President's position in the public eye to the Radicals, who had "charitably" drawn a veil over his "defects" of character, mind, and intellect.

Gurowski wrote Lincoln letters of advice and direction at frequent intervals. His themes were foreign affairs and military matters. In a queer specimen letter on the first subject, designated as "No III," warnings and admonitions were spread over seven large pages, consisting of sixteen points with numerous sub-divisions.[7] Gurowski suggested to Lincoln that the government "be watchfull [*sic*] on the barometer of Europe," and cautioned the President to be wary of the techniques and methods of his diplomatic agents. On the second theme, at a moment when the fortunes of war were dark for the Union, Gurowski wrote Lincoln urging him to take active command of the army and suggested that he fortify himself with a staff of five competent military men.[8] Lincoln's opinion of Gurowski cannot be accurately determined, for the President made no mention of the Count in writing. Ward Hill

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5. Gurowski to John A. Andrew, Washington, December 27, 1862, Andrew MSS., Massachusetts Historical Society.

6. Gurowski, *Diary: 1863-'64-'65* (Washington, 1866), 40, entry of December 6, 1863.

7. Gurowski to Lincoln, Washington, May 22, 1861, MS., Nicolay and Hay Collection, Illinois State Historical Library.

8. Gurowski, *Diary, from November 18, 1862, to October 18, 1863,* 230, 233, entry of May 17, 1863.

Lamon, Lincoln's swashbuckling marshal of the District of Columbia, records that from Gurowski alone Lincoln feared danger of assassination.[9] Lamon probably enlarged upon a casual remark dropped by the President. It is known that Lamon disliked intensely all Jacobins; certainly not one of that group in Washington aggravated him more than the grumbling Count. If Lamon's statement was true in all respects, Lincoln was in error, for no evidence exists that would indicate Gurowski had even the vaguest idea of attacking Lincoln's person.

Of Lincoln's cabinet, Gurowski's most venomous and splenetic attacks were upon Secretary Seward. Without exception the Count disliked the Secretary's policies and activities, particularly, he said, his mild conciliatory policy toward the South and his willingness to preserve slavery. Determined personally to expose the Secretary, the Count wrote his confidant, John A. Andrew, the Radical Massachusetts governor, hoping that he would give newspaper publicity to his opinions of Seward: ". . . only patriotism," wrote Gurowski, "makes me hate that scoundrel, otherwise he is to [*sic*] low to deserve my hatred."[10] Gurowski's opinions of Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton were as laudatory as his opinions of Seward were derogatory. In the Count's estimation the Radical Stanton was the only man in the administration whose one idea was to crush the Confederacy. Gurowski's support of Stanton never wavered. When the Secretary faced discredit because of the disheartening military situation in 1862 and early 1863, the Count credited the situation to the lack of a competent general staff headed by a chief-of-staff, and in letters implored Stanton to form such a staff without delay. In some of the Secretary's measures Gurowski believed him to be shackled by the administration, for as he thought the conservatives were firmly intrenched against him.

McClellan, of the Union generals, bore the brunt of Gurowski's advice and vitriolic criticisms. Upon assuming com-

9. Lamon, *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln, 1847-1865* (ed. by Dorothy Lamon Teillard, Washington, 1911), 274.

10. Gurowski to Andrew, Washington, April 10, 1863, Andrew MSS.

mand of the army, the general received from the Count a plan for army reorganization and the assurance that his authority was great enough to permit him to strike boldly at the Confederacy. McClellan, however, hesitated, and when he at last assumed the offensive in the spring of 1862 only to bog down in the mud of the Virginia peninsula, Gurowski wailed for McClellan's removal: "Any one sustaining Mac Cln is an unmistakable ass . . . & a traitor to boot."[11] The Count rejoiced in company with the Jacobins when McClellan was removed from command of the army at a crucial moment in the autumn of 1862 as he was preparing for a stroke at the Confederacy. While McClellan was to Gurowski the curse that bewitched the success of the North, Ulysses S. Grant was to him the incarnation of the success of the Union, the savior of the people's cause. Grant's ability to strike hard winning blows and to gain an objective appealed to him. Through interviews and letters Gurowski sought to guide Grant in the Radical cause. The Count admitted that Grant's offensive in the spring of 1864 was a bloody and suicidally insane campaign, but for the first time during the war he believed there was genuine achievement to show for slaughtered thousands.

Gurowski's abusive criticisms of the Lincoln administration took printed form in his *Diary,* the first volume of which came from the press in late 1862. The attitude taken by the government on its appearance was similar to that taken toward disloyal newspapers, and the action of the administration was as lifeless and ineffective as its policy toward suppressing anti-administrative journals had been. Radical support in official circles came to Gurowski's aid and hastily disposed of any will the Lincoln government may have had to convict him on a libel charge. Actually the libel suit increased the Count's anti-Lincoln activity and heightened his Radical sentiments. His role became that of a martyr, to be pursued all the more vigorously. The remaining volumes of the *Diary,* two in number, were written in even a more caustic and derogatory tone, with greater flamboyancy and freedom of expression. They

11. Gurowski to Andrew, Washington, Monday, May 12, 1862, Andrew MSS.

exist as evidence of a failure or want of purpose on the part of the government during the Civil War to effectively bridle rampant and denunciatory criticism of the administration on the printed page.

During the months before Gurowski published the first volume of his *Diary* he was employed as a temporary clerk in the Department of State. His job, described as "a confidential position near the Secretary of State,"[12] was to read foreign newspapers for material of interest to the state department, furnish Secretary Seward with translations, and when called upon, to give opinions on international law and diplomatic questions; but the Count spoke of his duties as being to read German newspapers and to keep Seward from making a fool of himself. Gurowski bragged openly, however, that his real work was to spy on Seward and keep him under close observation. The Count would carry confidential information from the state department office to his Radical friends about Washington, record it on the pages of his manuscript diary under Seward's eyes, and tell of it in long intimate letters to the anti-administration governor of Massachusetts. In substance, Gurowski was a Radical agent in conservative administrative quarters. He carried to the Radicals information of Seward's activities, at the same time serving as a watch dog over Radical interests by attempting to infiltrate conservative policy with Radical ideas and principles. The discovery, however, of the manuscript diary by state department employees resulted in his dismissal.

Three months later, in December, 1862, appeared Gurowski's erratic *Diary*. In page after page of caustic criticism the Count barked forth his revenge. Comment on the book varied according to party attitudes. Some spoke of it with praise, some with disgust, but it seemed that everyone of importance had read it. It was in pro-administration journals that it received the greatest attention; in such papers the editorials were lengthy and critical. The very nature of the book, its queerness and unusual qualities, aside from its rabid Radical tenor, was sufficient to provoke interest. It was not

12. New York *Daily Tribune*, June 5, 1861, p. 5, c. 1.

that Gurowski advocated violence; by his exposé of all that was not Radical in the administration, he sought to warn the people who he hoped would in turn cleanse the Lincoln government of all "impure" elements through elections and the pressure of public opinion.

Two weeks after the *Diary* came from the press, the state department through its chief clerk, William Hunter, furnished information that led to an indictment against Gurowski for libel, a criminal case which took official form as the *United States* vs. *Adam Gurowski.* The Count interpreted the action as a measure of the conservative Lincoln administration. He defiantly challenged his opponents: "Well, great masters, if you swallow me, you may not digest me. Let us try."[13] While the libel case was pending, the court system of the District of Columbia underwent alterations, the conservative judges of pre-war years being replaced by an anti-slavery roster. At the head of the new Supreme Court of the District sat Chief Justice David Kellogg Cartter, a partisan with decided Radical leanings. Cartter, presiding at the Gurowski trial, heard the able argument of the prosecuting attorney, Edward C. Carrington, District Attorney of the District of Columbia. The point of contention was whether or not the Count was the author of the *Diary* bearing his name. Carrington argued that there was ample circumstantial evidence to prove the authorship; the fact that the *Diary* carried Gurowski's name, he said, was alone sufficient.

The question as to whether there was any evidence of Gurowski's authorship was entirely in the hands of Chief Justice Cartter. To keep the matter from being submitted to the jury it was necessary for him to show that there was no evidence whatever indicating that Gurowski was the author. In a series of successive blows he crushed one by one the arguments of the United States. There was, he said, no evidence submitted that Gurowski was either the author or publisher of the book. The fact that Gurowski's name appeared on the title page, Cartter said, was no evidence; if his name were in

13. Gurowski, *Diary, from November 18, 1862, to October 18, 1863,* 134, entry of February 9, 1863.

his handwriting, he observed, then the *Diary* would be an item of evidence. "Now," said Cartter, "what kind of a principle would it be to establish, that these Roman characters were peculiarly the character of Count Gurowski . . . ; and still you have got to do it to give any significance whatever to that fact."[14] Carrington's proof that Gurowski was a resident of Washington for the period covered by the *Diary* meant nothing to Cartter as an item of evidence. The fact that Gurowski was in the employment of the state department likewise carried no weight. Any clerk in the state department, Cartter said, outside of Hunter could have written the so-called libel in the *Diary*. After all, Cartter reflected, the book could have been written inside or outside the state department with the same precision. The fact that two witnesses had testified that Gurowski had possession of a manuscript before the appearance of the book and that he admitted his purpose was to publish it, Cartter dismissed with the comment that there was no knowledge as to the exact nature of the manuscript diary. By refusing to admit there was evidence for the jury's consideration, Cartter kept the outcome of the trial completely in his hands.

A richer legal farce could not be imagined. From the beginning of the proceedings, the prosecution labored under difficulties. Never once during the trial did Judge Cartter rule favorably for the United States. It would seem that Cartter's refusal to permit the jury to pass upon the question of authorship was unreasonable. In fact, the trial can hardly be said to have been a trial at all, for at every moment of the proceedings the Radical element held complete sway, and by refusing to permit the jury to consider the evidence presented by the United States, Cartter kept the conservative and non-partisan element (presuming that the jury was non-partisan) from obtaining a chance to pass upon the case. By refusing Carrington the opportunity to summon the Boston publisher of the *Diary,* and thereby reopen the case, Cartter killed the last hope of the conservatives to overcome the partisan stand taken by

14. Unidentified newspaper clipping, "The Gurowski Libel," Edward C. Carrington Papers, possession of Otto Eisenschiml, Chicago.

him during the course of the trial. The day the jury returned the verdict of "not guilty," Gurowski celebrated his victory over the administration on a *Diary* page:

> And the power holders let loose their mastiffs. And the mastiffs ran at my heels and tried to tear my inexpressibles and all. And they did not, because they could not. Because my friends . . . stood by me. And the people's justice stepped in between the mastiffs and me, and I exclaim with the miller of Potsdam, 'There are judges in Washington.'[15]

Gurowski was a close observer of American foreign relations during his residence in Washington. He mingled freely with representatives of foreign governments. His noble European birth led diplomats to consider him an equal and prompted them to confide in him many a diplomatic secret. Gurowski described this relationship in a characteristic flurry: "I am the only Northerner on a footing of intimacy with the diplomats. They consider me an *exalté*."[16] Gurowski recorded in his *Diary* what diplomats told him along with other choice fragments of confidential information on foreign affairs harvested during his employment in the state department. The *Diary* is consequently one of the significant printed sources on the diplomatic history of the Civil War.

When war broke, thought Gurowski, official Europe's sympathetic support of the North was dormant; it needed only to be activated by military victories. The European masses throughout the war were with the Union in spirit because of their opposition to slavery and oppression. The fact that England and France recognized the Confederacy as a "belligerent" seemed not to disturb Gurowski; he was certain that the South would not be recognized as a free and independent nation until she should win the war, for Europe, he said, recognized only "*faits accomplis*." At no time during the war did Gurowski believe foreign armed intervention to be a serious threat. The idea of foreign mediation for purpose of compromise was

15. Gurowski, *Diary, from November 18, 1862, to October 18, 1863*, 342, entry of October 10, 1863.

16. Gurowski, *Diary, from March 4, 1861, to November 12, 1862* (Boston, 1862), 57, entry of June, 1861.

spurned by Gurowski with unrelenting fury. "Any, even the most favorable, friendly mediation," he exclaimed, "is infamy. Any one entertaining a shadow of such an idea is traitor & desserves [*sic*] to be hung. A foreign minister bringing to the White house an offer of mediation ought to be torn to pieces; & I for one shall not hesitate to shoot him."[17]

Gurowski believed Secretary of State Seward totally unfit for the task of directing American foreign relations; at a period when the utmost in skill was necessary in the directing hand he could see nothing but inefficiency, inability, and ignorance. He was certain that Lincoln should be warned of Seward's unpopularity among diplomats. He asked his friend Andrew to entreat Edward Everett, later the orator of the day at Gettysburg, to explain to Lincoln Seward's rating in diplomatic circles; Everett, said Gurowski, knew the temper of European statesmen, "of which Seward is as ignorant as any ass in a meadow."[18] The diplomatic representatives of the United States in foreign capitals during the war were of little value in winning popular and governmental support for the Union. They failed to voice the sentiment and purpose of the people of the North in the glowing and emotional thoughts envisioned by the Count. Seward's collateral missions, designed to buttress the activities of the government's regular diplomatic agents, were of slight worth in Gurowski's estimation; these representatives were men of second rate diplomatic caliber, better trained to confuse than to clarify and strengthen the Union position abroad.

The slave question had caught Gurowski's attention at the time of the Compromise of 1850. At once he took a stand on unconditional emancipation. Yet, despite the fanatic zeal with which he fought slavery, in a spirit resembling the abolitionist's approach, he emphasized the purely intellectual or scholarly view. With striking ability he proved the fallacy and shortcomings of slavery. His major work on the subject, *Slavery in History* (1860), embodying nearly a decade of re-

17. Gurowski to Charles Sumner, marked *"Warning,"* Saturday, January 14, [1863?], Sumner MSS., Harvard University.

18. Gurowski to Andrew, Monday, October 28, 1862, Andrew MSS.

search, was a significant piece of anti-slavery literature.

The idea of negro colonization outside the United States, suggested to Lincoln and certain conservatives by the problems of emancipation, was to Gurowski a ridiculous absurdity; if the scheme were carried out on a small scale the Count observed, it would be valueless, while carrying it out on a grand scale would be impossible, besides being stupid and recklessly cruel. He was dissatisfied with the preliminary proclamation of September 22, 1862. To him as to many Radicals it was significant of nothing; it demonstrated but the pressure of public opinion and the fact that Lincoln was clinging to the idea of compensated emancipation and negro colonization as the permanent solution. On January 1, 1863, when the final emancipation proclamation was issued, Gurowski protested that Lincoln was but the legal recorder of a noble act coming from the Radicals of Congress. Rising to ecstacies, the Count viewed emancipation as a hallowed measure:

> The people's blood, the fallen heroes, tore the divine work of emancipation, from the hands of jealously watching demons [administration conservatives]. To the shadows of the fallen the glory, and not to your round, polished or unpolished phrases. Not the pen with which the proclamation was written is a trophy and a relic, but the blood steaming to heaven, the corpses of the fallen, corpses mouldering on all the fields of the Union.[19]

Negro soldiers, their organization and use, was a problem of major concern to Gurowski as to his radical colleagues. Seeing able-bodied blacks upon the streets of Washington prompted the Count to resolve to form a colored regiment, whip the First Families of Virginia (F. F. V's.), "the progeny of hell," and prove the "perfect equality" of the races. He petitioned war secretary Stanton requesting a commission as colonel of a colored regiment; in an interview with Stanton he talked of his personal ambitions as well as of national policy concerning negro soldiers, the Secretary agreeing that

19. Gurowski, *Diary, from November 18, 1862, to October 18, 1863*, 75-76, entry of January 8, 1863.

"the cursed land of Secessia ought to be surrounded by camps to enlist and organize the enslaved, as a scorpion surrounded with burning coals."[20] Gurowski submitted a plan for the organization and equipment of negro troops and suggested a simplified book of tactics for the especial use of the black trooper. His enthusiasm availed but little, he believed, and in disgust he viewed the hesitancy with which Lincoln administered organized negro troops.

Gurowski's importance lies in the fact that he was a notable example of the vindictive radical type of the Civil War era. His radical temperament would not have permitted him to follow other than the Jacobin course. His religious passion in pursuing Radical policies and measures in preference to all personal ambitions, politically or otherwise, distinguished him from his associates; his convictions consumed all his time, all his energies. He lived solely for the cause of the Radicals. He was a Puritan in their fold. In their hopes he found a sacred calling, in their kind a Christ-like pattern. "Radicals—true ones—," he declared, "look to the great aim, forget their persons, and are not moved by mean interests and vanities."[21] There was but one Radical with the fiery ferociousness of Gurowski—and that was Gurowski.

Bibliographical Note

Source materials, manuscript and printed, on Gurowski are scarce and scattered. The most valuable manuscript collections were the Papers of Count Adam de Gurowski, Library of Congress; the John A. Andrew MSS., Massachusetts Historical Society; the Charles Sumner Correspondence and the James Russell Lowell Correspondence, Harvard University. The Gurowski MSS., comprising Gurowski's personal papers, contained but approximately ten letters to Gurowski and the rough drafts of a limited number of letters by Gurowski, chiefly to Lincoln; the collection was disappointingly devoid of significant source material with the exception of Julius Bing's manuscript "Life of Gurowski," written the year following Gurowski's death with the use of his personal papers. Consisting of thirty-four chapters, Bing's life con-

20. Gurowski to Edwin M. Stanton, Washington, June 22, 1862, duplicate copy of a petition signed by twenty-six individuals, Gurowski MSS., Library of Congress; Gurowski, *Diary, from November 18, 1862, to October 18, 1863*, 97, entry of January 18, 1863.

21. *Ibid.*, 160, entry of March 2, 1863.

tained many valuable letters—once supposedly a part of Gurowski's papers—quoted in full. The Andrew MSS. contained approximately sixty letters written by Gurowski to Andrew, the Radical Massachusetts governor, during the course of the Civil War. These letters give Gurowski's intimate observations of men and events in Washington. This collection was the most valuable manuscript source used in the preparation of this dissertation. The Sumner MSS. and the Lowell MSS. yielded many a significant Gurowski letter, particularly for the decade of the fifties.

The Records of the Department of State; the Records of the War Department, Office of the Adjutant General; the Records of the Criminal Court of the District of Columbia; and the Records of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia—all in the National Archives—contained valuable material, particularly on the libel case. The following libraries contained miscellaneous material on Gurowski: Archives and Museum, Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, Chicago; Boston Public Library, Boston; Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield; Library of the Boston Athenaeum, Boston; Lincoln National Life Foundation, Fort Wayne; and the New York Public Library, New York. The Edward C. Carrington Papers in the possession of Otto Eisenschiml, Chicago, yielded valuable newspaper clippings on the libel case. An unsigned manuscript autobiographical sketch of Gurowski in this writer's possession proved a significant document on Gurowski's early life; this three page sketch, purchased from a Washington bookdealer, was written shortly after Gurowski came to the United States.

The most valuable of all sources, both manuscript and printed, was the *Diary* of Gurowski, published in three volumes (1862-1866). Other published diaries found useful were those of Salmon P. Chase, Gideon Welles, Edward Bates, Orville Hickman Browning, and John Hay. Published letters, reminiscences, and collected works contained valuable materials, but considering the number available for the period, little was found on Gurowski. Contemporary newspapers were a copious source, particularly the *Herald, Tribune,* and *Times* of New York, and the Washington *National Intelligencer.* Aside from unauthoritative encyclopedic accounts of Gurowski, the only special study concerning him appeared the year of his death as the reminiscence of a friend, Robert Carter, a journalist by profession ("Gurowski," *Atlantic Monthly,* vol. XVIII, pp. 625-633, November, 1866). Secondary works were of limited value in the preparation of this study.

VITA

LeRoy Henry Fischer, son of Dr. and Mrs. A. Leroy Fischer, was born at Hoffman, Clinton County, Illinois, on May 19, 1917. He attended the rural schools of Clinton County, and from 1931 to 1935 the Centralia Township High School, Centralia, Illinois. Entering the University of Illinois in September, 1935, he majored in history and minored in political science and geography, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts in June, 1939. In September, 1939, he entered the Graduate School of the University of Illinois and continued his studies in history. The following June the degree of Master of Arts was conferred. His master's thesis, an essay in Illinois history, was entitled "Sidney Breese in the United States Senate, 1843-1849." During the academic years 1940-1941, 1941-1942, and during the first semester of the year 1942-1943 he continued his graduate studies at the University of Illinois and was a research assistant in history, serving under Professor J. G. Randall. The summer of 1941 was spent in study at Columbia University and in the libraries of the East collecting material for his doctoral dissertation. He is the author of the biographical sketch of Gurowski in the new supplemental volume of the *Dictionary of American Biography,* and is a member of the Commission for Research on Polish Immigration, Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America. Before the time of his final examination his entrance into the United States Army Signal Corps had been set for February, 1943.